contact with water which symbolizes "the victory of Faro over Mousso Koroni in the matter of family names" is a prefiguration of name-giving.

As soon as the patriarch hears of the birth, he comes and shakes the family pembele over the child's head, three or four times according to the sex, in order to pass on to him the nyama and the qualities of the deceased person from whom he has inherited the ni and the dya. Then, he brings the family altar kere la boli ni into the house of the woman who has just given birth and places it before him. Crouching upon the ground, with fingers spread over the object, he pronounces the following prayer: "You, boli, make me a chief, so that my family prospers, a child is /178/ born, his soul is entrusted to you; I invoke you, boli, night and day" (1).

1. Boli tigi i ka masaya kanu ñe, de wolo la, a ni kalifa be i la, ngo boli ɲu ani kle.

Holding the child on his knees, he places the object on its chest for three consecutive times. Repeating the prayer, he next cuts the throat of a red rooster over the open sac, dips the right index into the blood, and, depending upon whether it is a boy or a girl, makes three or four crosses on the forehead of the newborn who thus becomes the "son of the boli," boli dɛ.

A white sea shell, krokrodya (2), is placed before the newborn

2. Cardita vingens.

and gently moved about to "condense his dya within him." Then it is tied to the child's foot for three or four days according to its sex. At the same time, the mother who is entrusted with the child's dya until the name-giving ritual, adorns herself during the eight days following the birth with a collar (madya, "dya of the person") made from the odoriferous root of the tree bearing the same name. She will wear it until the child takes its first steps so as to protect it and to recall that she herself carried the soul of the newborn.

The name is given on the eighth day by the chief of the Komo. Under the dubale, a tree which shelters the village meetings, the elders assemble around the Komo altars which have been carried to the spot (3). If it is a first son, the father gives one hundred kola nuts,

844 good taste. The placenta is buried outdoors near the hut or sometimes in the floor of the hut itself. The mother is washed and often given an infusion to drink which is alleged to stop bleeding.

The baby is washed several times and then anointed with vegetable fat (1) (se tlu) or butter made from cow's milk. Its

1. Known to Europeans as karite, originally a Soninké word.

head is massaged to give it a nice shape, and then the baby is wrapped in a white cloth.

The child is usually not fed for the first 24 hours, although it is sometimes given a few drops of goat's milk, a beverage with mystical qualities. It is then given the breast.

851 At the earliest possible moment the father must be informed of the birth and sex of the child. Indeed, he is brought in by the woman who cut the cord, and the mother shows him the baby, pointing out any body characteristic which seems to her a manifest sign that the child is a reincarnation [211] of a deceased member of the family or other evidence that there has been some influence from the invisible world.

[203] The same woman informs the local authorities (dugu-tigi, nyana-n-son-na-ba, etc.) and the people in the vicinity; the news spreads rapidly.

● 846 The mother resumes her normal activities as soon as possible and is often on her feet within 24 hours. In any event, she never remains in bed for more than a week, unless it is absolutely impossible for her to get up. For seven or eight days, however, she remains in seclusion. Furthermore, particularly in Kaarta, her food is prepared exclusively by girl friends of her choice.

[751] The detachment of the umbilical cord marks the end of this period of seclusion. In Kaarta the cord is preserved and placed in a small bag which is tied around the baby's neck; later on it will be made into a precious talisman. It is only after the detachment of the cord that the child is considered to be definitely

846 born. In this we see another of the interim periods which accompany any change of status (death, marriage, circumcision, etc.). The real entry of the child into social life is marked by giving it a name.

553 851 Giving the name. Naming the child is the prerogative of the father, and he must take into consideration the various circumstances or incidents which marked the birth; through this act the child is received into the family.

At Ségou, family heads, relatives, neighbors, and friends are all invited to this ceremony, especially the dugu-tigi or, more exactly, the nyana-n-son-na-ba. In order of rank and seniority they arrive on the day set and squat in front of the entry to the courtyard which gives access to the mother's hut. The religious leader (nyana-n-son-na-ba) enters the mother's hut and shaves the head of the child whom the mother holds on her knees.

While this is going on, the women, relatives, neighbors, and friends approach in single file, singing, clapping their hands, and at intervals shouting: "Kuyo! Kuyo!" They give millet and cotton to the mother.

After shaving the baby's head, the leader puts his hands on the child, strokes its back and chest, and spits in its face to ward off evil spirits. Then he emerges and sits outside among his people. [212] The father then gives him eleven kola nuts, and the family heads in turn give him 40 to 50 cowries; all this is placed on a woven tray.

At this point, the leader asks the father what name he has selected for the child. Before answering, the father requests that the kola nuts and cowries be divided, they constitute the tua sara "price of the name." Two kola nuts and half of the cowries are given to the mother; the rest is divided among the family heads present. These are the ni wuru, "kola of life," and the tua kolo, "cowrie of the naming." Then the father makes known the name and the reasons for his choice. What are these reasons? It may be some obvious sign that the child is a reincarnation of someone deceased, some incident marking the child's birth, etc. Everyone congratulates the father on the happy event and expresses good wishes for the baby and blessings on the parents.

551 the tua Ngolo, from which come Nyana Ngolo, Barama Ngolo, Solo-Ngolo, etc. In the family of the Bambara chiefs of Femay (2) (a canton in the circle of Djeimé), the eldest son was

2. See Humblot.

given the name of the paternal grandfather; the second son was called Moussa; the third, Abdoullah; the fourth, Ngizi; and the fifth, Souleyman. The girls were called, in order of age: first, Fatouma; second, Awa; third, Nyele-ba or Nye-ba; fourth, Dyomene; fifth, Kounadi; and the sixth, Aminata (2) [Ed., footnote 2 above].

There are other names very commonly used for the eldest child: Ntyi and its endless variants for boys; Nya or Nyele for eldest daughters. The last two are so common in the Ségou region that the Soninké derisively designate the Bambara of that area with the expression, Nya ni Nyele-u, "the people of Nya and [606] Nyele." Since husband and wife are forbidden by custom to pronounce the names of their respective parents-in-law, complications arise when, as often happens, a child is named for them. Respect for the interdict is preserved by using a paronym: for a boy, Tye-koro, "the old man"; for a girl, Moso-koro, "the old woman." To satisfy this same interdict, there are true synonyms locally: thus, for Mussa the name Dyigi is used; for Mori-ba, Bo-dyan. Individuals are often designated by these double names whose two parts are synonymous; thus, there are the Mussa-Dyigi or Dyigi-Moussa, the Bodyan-Moriba, and so forth.

The foregoing are some of the characteristic traits that show how individuals are named among the Bambara, but actually the subject is inexhaustible.

• 846 After the name-giving ceremony, the mother resumes her normal life, although she must still observe certain prohibitions: notably, there must be no sexual intercourse for the first three months; and during the same period she must not change her coiffure nor leave the village. Once this period is over, she covers herself with jewelry, [215] beads and pieces of amber -- borrowed from neighbors or relatives, if need be -- rubs the baby with butter, and goes to present him to the local notables.

844 Before delivery of her child, a woman is advised to pound grain. When the labor pains come, the woman retires to her hut with several matrons (men are not allowed access). If the child is poorly presented, the priest is called. He performs outside the hut, simulating the delivery and chanting the formulas that ease labor. To deliver the infant, the woman kneels with her hands thrown behind her, while the midwife supports the small of her back. At birth the infant's shoulders must touch the ground; this is the moment when he receives his spiritual principles. The infant is washed several times and smeared with karite butter.

846 The mother must not go out during the first eight days after the
853 birth; she must devote herself entirely to the new-born. She massages
854 his head daily in order to give it a more rounded form, and she pinches his nose. She nurses the infant for the first two years, then the weaned child passes directly to the communal calabash. Until the child can walk, the mother carries it astraddle on her back with the aid of a loincloth knotted at her chest. In this manner the infant accompanies the mother everywhere, to work as well as to the dance.
868 It is during these intimate contacts that the mother teaches her child to talk. Later, the little girls stay with their mothers who teach them all the domestic arts, while the boys are educated in outside work.
[867] During their childhood they are taught the usages and rules of deport-
201 ment: a woman knows she must never shake the hand of a man to
576 greet him, and, if he extends his hand, she flings up her arm "as a sign of not being interested." A man will salute his superior by extending his hand palm upwards, and the superior will put his over it; inversely, when a man greets an inferior he extends his hand with the palm down, while for an equal his hand will be perpendicular to the ground. If a man must ask someone's pardon, he puts his hands behind his back to simulate the tail of an animal (for he has acted like an animal). Crossing the hands in front of or upon the head is a sign of sadness. To mark his submission to a king, a man puts his right elbow to the ground. To pray to God, the two hands are extended with the palms turned [89] outward. A woman learns that it is im-
576 pudent to question her husband during the day, and when she speaks
593 of him, she says koke, that is, big brother, for she cannot pronounce
833 his name or in any way recall the bonds which exist between them. It is only during the two consecutive nights that she couples with him

844 In the end comes a word of encouragement from the midwives
851 and the father: "A gnéna, that is good." The woman who tied /sic/ the umbilical cord runs to tell the head of the village, the dougoutigi, or /169/ gnéna-n-sonnaba, and the sotigi (if the civil and religious powers do not rest in one and the same head), and the members of his council, the gouatigi (or heads of families), that the village has one more inhabitant. To each and every one she tells the news of the newborn in a flood of words, she declares her fears or her hopes, and everyone greets her, thanks her, and makes her one of those wishes that go straight to the heart. She deserves these praises and can desire them, for she has done her duty. Besides, these are her only fees. A Bambara midwife does not get paid; she receives a present or is given a tip, so let us leave her her glory and not call her mercenary.

The child receives a name; his head is shaved. -- Two or
846 three days after her delivery before she has recovered, a Bambara woman begins to tend to her household duties. But she does not leave her hut at all; she sits on a mat, spins cotton, and smiles at her child or fondles it in her arms. And why does she not get a breath of air at least in her court? Could it be false modesty on her part? Not at all; she is proud to be a mother, but can she leave her darling for even a moment? It has no swaddling clothes or cradle; it can only cry, demand the breast, struggle and get into a position that is harmful to his frail body, and to go outdoors and visit the men friends who seem to ignore her since she became a mother (1),

> 1. Men do not enter the hut of a woman in confinement until after the tonsure and naming of the infant. The husband himself does not go in except when necessary.

she would have to leave it there alone, all by itself. Until the
[854] infant's navel dries, she cannot put the infant astride on her back, which is the only way she knows to carry him, and if she were to go out without her child, her milk would dry up and become full of substances harmful to the nursing infant.

[846] 852 553 The navel dries between the sixth and eighth day. The headman and elders are told of the event, and all the heads of families (the gouatigou) come and sit in order of age and rank at the entrance door of the hut which opens into the court of the confined woman. The religious head, the gnéna-sonnaba (2), goes alone into the hut

[793]

2. Usually it is the religious head, priest of the dasiri, who shaves the child, but there are exceptions to this rule. In some villages it is the civil head who performs the tonsure; in others this task is the prerogative of a family. Sometimes the shaving is done by the father or the grandfather. The families in which this custom is followed are not pure Bambara but are mixed with Marka blood.

and /170/ shaves the head of the infant on its mother's knees. Long [201 431] lines of women push into the inner court, clap their hands, let out shrill cries of "kouyo kouyo" as signs of joy, and give their friend a small present of millet and cotton (1).

1. The women give a handful of cotton and about a pound of millet.

When the head of the child has been shaved and well cleaned, the headman lays his hands on him to drive away evil spirits that might wish to harm his life; he gently strokes his back and chest and, spitting lightly, recites a short formula which he alone knows and can understand. Then he goes and sits among his people, and the father presents him with eleven kola nuts on a platter of braided grass. The heads of families, in order of age, place their offering of 40 to 80 cowrie shells (2) on this same platter, and the gnéna-sonnaba asks

2. The men give 40 cowrie shells. The generous ones go as high as 80.

852 533 Alla m'i balola, kouyo kouyo, you are called (. . .), may God make you live!" Two women take up the corners of the rectangular cloth which will hold the child cradled on its mother's back, and the little one is rolled three times on an ax head if it is a boy or on the iron stick used to clean cotton if it is a girl, as if to say: "Be strong and vigorous, be a help and a support to your family!"

The child is placed astride on the back of a young girl and knotted into the rectangular piece of cloth, its mother's tafé, or loincloth. An old woman sticks a pinch of chewed kola nut on its forehead, on each side of its cranium above the ears, and on top of its head, and she knots a white cloth band a finger wide around its forehead. The girl receives a handful of millet, goes to the public square to pound it, and, with the child still on her back, prepares dégé (millet flour mixed with water). When she has prepared the gruel, she goes and offers it to the mother, who puts a pinch of it into the little one's moth, and the ceremony is finished. Not entirely, however, for a few old women run around the village with a gourd of dégé in their hands. They look for sterile women, who shut themselves in their huts and hide. Some are always caught, and they are covered with dégé; the more they cry out and the more they struggle, the more they get whitewashed.

● 846 852 303 After her child is shaved, a Bambara woman goes about the village and attends to her work. But she does not braid her hair for three months if she has given birth to a boy and for four months if she has had a girl (1), /172/ nor does she go to neighboring villages.

1. Women who braid their hair are not of pure stock.

When this period is over, she braids her hair, covers herself with beads, with bits of amber and bracelets, dresses in her best, makes herself beautiful, and goes to present her baby, all running with butter, to the headman and elders. Her husband grants her several days' leave [574] (1), and she immediately goes to her family.

1. About 8 to 15 days.